

RESEARCH

Historicism

Short notes

Aamir Mushtaq Cheema, Major{retired}

12/19/2017

Notes made at Carrier Library Virginia

Historicism.

Polybius of Megalopolis a second century BC, Greek historian, wrote *The Histories*ⁱ. In 3rd Century BC Rome was ruled by Emperors, it was in 509 BC that it was transformed into Republic, between 280-275 BC, she seen off the threat of Greek. First Punic War 264-241 BC was against Carthage, Second Punic War 218-201BC, in which Hannibal won at Cannae {216BC} but later lost at Zama {201BC}. Polybius set off to explain how Rome conquered and unified the world 220-167BC; Polybius believed that one of the vital qualification for writing history was practical political and military experience, he himself was son of a Greek general.ⁱⁱ There is no better correction of human behaviour than knowledge of past events, after all, is there anyone on earth who is so narrow minded or uninquisitiveness that could fail to want to know how and thanks to what kind of political system almost the entire known world was conquered and brought under a single empire of the Romans, in less than fifty –four years.ⁱⁱⁱ

James Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilisation*. Edited by Edith Ware. New York: Literary Guild of America, 1938. Breasted wrote and noted that the history of the ancient world was largely made up of the struggle between the Southern Semitic line and the Northern Indo-European Line, in the end, Indo European gain victory^{iv}

History is never constructed from narratives but from documents^v, it is one view and other is that history can be constructed rather it is present irrespective of the documents. By history I mean research conducted scientifically.^{vi} What is History? It can be a history as what has actually happened in the past, or history as our inevitably imperfect understanding of what happened in past or history as the continuing attempt by professional historians to extend our knowledge and improve our understanding of what happened in the past.^{vii} **Carr Edward**. *What is History ?* New York: Alfred Knopf, 1964. writes, before you study History study the historian and before you study historian study his historical and social environments. {P.54}^{viii}

Kelley, Donald. *Faces of History, Historical inquiry from Herodotus to Herder*. London: Yale university Press, 1998. History as a concept and term is a European perspective, a Greek creation {p.3} Like Epic poets the historians have been fascinated by the questions of origins, of first causes, which usually meant the founding of particular natural traditions....not from the start of dynasty but from the creation of the universe. {p.8} The first law of history according to Cicero is to tell the truth and mix in nothing that was false {p.9}, like philosophy history concerned itself with questions of cause and effects, {p.10} History is often regarded as form of memory, History has a pattern that could be explained {p.21}.

Herodotus was born in 484-428 BC, than Thucydides {460BC}, he wrote a history of Peloponnesian war, he served as general in the wars, later dismissed, he died in the hand of an assassin.. Polybius {200BC} he wrote two centuries after Herodotus and Thucydides, he wrote about the rise of Rome, he was also a general in the army and exiled to Rome. His history starts with 220BC, the various wars in Greece, Asia, Italy and Africa, he invented the term **pragmatic history**. Lelio Torelli was the first to associate history with the notion of method, another thinker Francis Baudoun of France noted that like law, history is a form of wisdom, Baudoun prized eye witness testimony, failing this he turned to monuments and records {p.194}. Jean Bodin was of the opinion

that History is above all sciences, according to Bodin, history comprises of human natural and divine, he codified history, a bibliography of 282 items {p.198}, men who compares modern historians with the ancients and ancients with each other and adds physical considerations also, will make the most certain judgement about history, {p.198}.

Kahler, Erich. *The Meaning of History*. New York: George Brazitter, 1964. Where there is no happening there is no history...thus the more flow of events become meaningful the more it becomes history {p.23} Historia is a Greek word meaning Physical Research {p.25}

Lester Stephen. *Probing the past a guide to the study of and teaching history*. {Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 1974}, History is also a story, history is past but we cannot reconstruct past in totality, we are more interested in those acts of pasts which have importance today as well,^{ix}

Jhonson Arnold. *The Historian and historical Evidence*. New York: Charles Scribner 1926.

The main debate is whether history to be considered as an science or as a art, German philosopher Leopold Von Ranke wrote *Wie Es Eigentlich ge we sen* 'as it actually happened'. {Ibid, p.9} the scientific method is in which the historians proceed through a steps, First he perceives a problem, something unknown about the past, an unsatisfactory explanation. In the second step, historian reads and forms about an idea or hypothesis and in third step, historian collects facts and data to verify his hypothesis and finally he draws his conclusion {p.22}. thus history does not exist apart from facts, thus Historical fact is a fact about the past, it may be true or false, thus take the example of Alexander the Great being wounded in 326 B.C, now it cannot be proved, because it cannot be repeated, therefore statement of one person becomes all important, in one sense there are no facts in history 'fact' is inferred from certain tangible tracts {p.24}. Hypothesis and Theory. Historical inquiry does not strictly bind itself to the scientific model of investigation, historian is in most instances searching for the unique and particular case, not for the general and universally applicable principle or law. {p.31}. His goal is less to verify or refute a hypothesis and more to reconstruct the past as accurately as possible {p.32}. Historical facts are not manna, facts are worthless unless someone does something with them and the job of historic is to make them tell the truth as fully as possible, historian based his work upon facts but he also recognizes the problems attached to them. theory is used interchangeably with hypothesis, however a theory is much broader and more encompassing than a hypothesis. In science, theory is supported by general laws, however in history, there are no general laws. An example of historical hypothesis is that of Waith Prescott Webb hypothesis 'that conflict with the plain Indians resulted from cross movement, that is, the Indians moved northward-southward, while American settlers moved westward. Arnold Toynbee's theory of civilisation 'which broadly consist of numerous hypothesis and generalisation'^x {p.33}

Historical frame of Reference, historian select and arranges facts in some kind of pattern, he interprets them and he draws generalisation from them, all these actions require him to order knowledge and this ordering of knowledge, we shall call his 'frame of reference'. Basic element of historians frame of reference is his underlying philosophy, assumptions and beliefs which he holds about his nature of man and the universe, his metaphysical, epistemological and axiological positions.

Gottschalk Louis *Understanding History* New York: Alfred Knopf, 1969. Writes Historian cannot avoid and therefore it is better that he should be openly committed to some philosophy and some code of ethics^{xi}.

Historian is a living thing, he is a political animal, he believes either in democracy or in dictatorship. *Frontier thesis*^{xii} Fredrick turner Jackson 's Frontier Thesis, in it Turner argued that peculiar frontier condition in USA contributes significantly to the formation of the national character and the spirits of American, he had studied biology, physics and chemistry and as such he employed

and modified the Germ theory to support his thesis {p.44}. The facts without interpretation do not constitute history {p.62}. A historical generalisation is a statement or a term which has been informed inductively from a number of particular cases instances or events, historical generalisation suggests some regularity or pattern of events, ideas and human actions which is of historical significance.

Frontier thesis^{xiii} {p.66}

Synthetic generalisation, it requires the historian to ferret out some uniformities from a mass of a material on a broad topic such as war or revolution, predictive generalisation is almost like a law.

Historiography at its highest level of originality may attempt an enquiry which former generators called philosophy of history in an application at a lower level it is deep structured inquiry until around 1700, the idea of a period of history designating a stretch of time with an internal unity and more importantly the notion of 'source' understood as composing one of the elements out of which a historical text might flow, just as river originates in its source, William Robertson seems to have been the first to use the word in that sense in 1777, he was principal of Edinburgh University^{xiv}. Karl Marx has written in the opening sentence of his Communist Manifesto 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle' where as Emile Durkheim {1858-1917} intermingle the history and sociology 'How' becomes important. Wilhelm Dillthey produced a critique of scientific methods in humanities, he was consumed that history moves in a pattern, according to laws^{xv}.

On what should we base our narrative if not on living knowledge...this is equally true of modern history, where the nature of the subject makes it inevitable that much will remain hidden for a long time and where an author will have no means other than his suspicion with which to discover {or perhaps conceal} events which he will nonetheless present as recognised truth, facts which later come to light reveal the attempted reconstruction as erroneous, the chief requirement for an historical work remains always that it be true; that events actually happened as they are described, the scholarly service performed by the work is by far the most important.^{xvi}

Gardiner, Patrick. Ed. *Theories of History*. Illinois: Free Press, 1959. The term philosophy of History has been applied somewhat indiscriminately to all speculative schemes {p.7}. Giambattista Vico {1668-1774} born in Naples, wrote *New science* {1725}, in which he propounded the a 'Cyclic theory of History' in which human nations pass through inevitably certain distinguishable stages of development, he believed that unlike world of natural object about which the God alone knows, the world of nations or human history has in fact been created by men and is therefore something which men can hope to know, {p.10}

Karen Katajin highlights the **History and Repetition**^{xvii}, from ancient times it has been said that history repeats itself, in truth people study history precisely because it is not a one-time phenomenon but rather maintains the possibility of recurrence. Does the repetition of history actually exist? Such questions have never been properly considered for even if they intuitively acknowledge the repetition of history scholars aspiring to be scientific refrain from taking on the issue for the fear of rendering their work unscientific. I believe in the existence of historical repetition, as well as in the possibility of engaging such a repetition scientifically, of course what is repeated is not the event itself but rather the structure. 'Kondratieff Wave', a sixty-year business cycle, a theory of long wave authored by N.D. Kondratieff {1892-1938}. Repetition in history does not signify the recurrence of the same event, for repetition is possible only in terms of form {structure} and not event {content}.

Karl Marx stated while writing about the events of French coup of 1851, 'Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur as if twice. He forgot to add; the first time as **tragedy second as farce**', Marx referred to the repetition of history

of 1789 and later that of 1848, in the both cases, a revolution that overthrew the monarchy and aimed to establish a republic, resulted ultimately in imperial rule. *Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the generations of the dead weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem involved in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never before existed, it is precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis that they anxiously conjure up the spirits.*^{xviii}

Karl Jaspers^{xix} states that Man's history has largely disappeared from memory, only through investigation and research does it become accessible, foremost in 19th Century world history was seen as the history of West, where as in 20th century gives equal rights to all men where there are men there is history, In Western world, the philosophy of history was founded in the Christian faith, ranging from St Augustine to Hegel, All history goes towards and comes from Christ as quoted by Hegel.

William Edward Harpole Lecky, wrote Thoughts in history there are many different kind of history, which should be written in many different ways, a diplomatic, a military or a parliamentary history...the supreme virtue of the historian is truthfulness.^{xx}

Alan Munslow writes^{xxi}, histories live the past and history exists in a synonymous relationship, based on fine related assumptions, historians statements are defensible empirically and to discover the meaning of the facts then to infer the causal relationship, this takes the form of hypothesis, to advance historical explanations, a truthful narrative and define history.

Lynn Hunt, in, *Writing History in the Global Era* states that in 1852/53, requirement for admission to the Harvard University required knowledge of algebra, geometry, Cesare's commentaries, select orations from Cicero.^{xxii} The Marxist view all history is driven by changes in the economic mode of production that shape conflicts between classes,^{xxiii}. Few paradigms in historical research are Marxist, Modernization which includes Durkheim and Weber, the Annales School and finally the Identity Politics especially in USA. The Annales School emerged in France in 1930-40, focussing on pre industrial societies, the main founder was Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre and Ferdinand Braudel. They aimed at directing history away from merely battles, treaties towards the social life, society, social groups and on collective narrative {p-16}. Annales School of historian believe that environment climatic and demography shapes human activity in a fundamental way. Since these factors change slowly over long periods of time neither revolution nor any other kind of short term political change concern them {p-17}.

Cultivist theorist insists that culture has its own meanings own autonomous logic, language and cultural expressions that shape the social world. The term use to describe them are 'cultural studies' 'past structuralism' 'past modernism' 'past colonialism' 'linguistic turn' 'cultural turn'..they all are like cousins and inter related terms.. area studies did not demand a specific theoretical commitment and could foster an interest in the particularities of different cultures{p-28}. First Coffee House opened in at oxford in 1650 by a Jew and by 1700 there were over 500 coffee houses in London alone. The term 'class' first appeared in 1790 in England, High Class, Middle Class and middling class, the term working class first appeared in in 1815 {p-87}. Sociology first appeared in in English in 1842, it was used by Auguste Comte a French in 1830, given the variety of questions that call for a historical approach, no one paradigm is going to rule the roost {p-121}. The 1776 Declaration of Independence 'When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among

the powers of the earth, the separate and equal status to which the Laws of nature and Naturist God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinion of mankind.

Lord Acton^{xxiv}, *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History*, writes a review on the thesis of Mr Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England* which was first posted in Rambler in 1858 and reprinted in London. McMillan 1907. History is a generalised assessment of the personal actions of men united in bodies for any public purpose and science is the combination of a great mass of similar facts into the unity of a generalisation, a principle, or a certainty by the recurrence of like events under given conditions, now can there be a science of history. Lord Acton is famous for his saying *Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men.* The man argument Lord Acton has forwarded is, that can we predict the actions of such men which Buckle has argued, that it can be. Acton went on to state that, there is no regularity in the throws of the dice taken ten and ten together, but in a ten thousand throws, we can predict with great confidence how many times sixes will be drawn, there is no possible certainty that any given individual will commit murder, but take a population of one hundred thousand and in a given time someone or the other is sure to be found committing murder, when we say Law, we always think of some force or command...but Mr Buckle by law, only means 'numerical average'. {P-13}.

C.V. Wedgwood, in *The sense of past, thirteen studies in the theory and practice of history*,^{xxv} highlights the older historians concentrated more on nomenclature than on analysis, on 'How' the rather than 'Why' of history. The desire for withdrawal is often a powerful motive in driving the student towards the study of history. Marc Bloch in his *The Historian's craft* wrote a resistance and published posthumously, That historian can only, in the last analysis, reconstruct the past by borrowing from and applying his own daily experience of life {P-26}. The romantic approach to history, is in which a historian bred in the national loyalty as almost a natural law, find it extremely difficult to grasp the meaning of the different loyalties, no less strong, which have constructed and disciplined the political lenses of men in the past {p-35}.

Marc Bloch *The Historian's Craft*^{xxvi} states western man has always been historically minded, Christianity is the religion of the historians {p-4}, other religious systems have been able to form their beliefs and their rites on mythology nearly outside human time. The word History is very old, so old that men have sometimes grown weary of it {P-20}. History is the science of the past {p-22}, Historian is like a police magistrate who strives to reconstruct a crime he has not seen {p-48} An experience almost as old as the mankind has taught us that more than one manuscript has justified its date or origin, that all the accounts are not true {P-79}. On historical analysis, Bloch writes and quotes Ranke 'historian' has no other aim than to describe things as they happened'. Herodotus said 'to narrate what was'. The scholar records, better stills he invites the experience which may perhaps upset his most cherished theories {p138}. For the first tool needed by an analyst is an appropriate language, a language capable of describing the precise outlines of the facts {p157}. Historian speaks only with words, hence with those of his country. Regarding Historical causation, Bloch writes 'in vain positivism claimed to eliminate the idea of cause from science...every physicist, every biologist thinks in terms of 'why' and 'because' ...here Bloch gives the example of a man falling from precipice {p-190}. For historical reasoning, the most specific, the one which somehow represents the differentially element in the compound of generative inference is accorded the name of cause {p-192}. Laws of trajectory are as valid as for defeat as for victory; they explain both, they are useless as a proper explanation for either, for a doctor, the cause of an epidemic is the multiplication of a microbe and its conditions the dirt...for sociologist, it would be poverty, {p-193}.

Herbert Fisher *Studies in history and politics*^{xxvii} on the importance of history, irrespective of whom has written, in his support of logic he highlights the history written by Ammianus Marcellinus the Roman Soldier, he approached history from a soldier's angle...he is indeed our principal authority on art of war in 4th century AD.' {p-13}.

Hans Kohn *Reflections on Modern History, The historian and human responsibility*,^{xxviii} History has a two fold meaning, first of all it is a sequence of events...our word story is connected with the word History original meaning of the Greek word Historia, not so much the narrative of the events but their interpretations {preface}. The historian is a man who tries to find out what has happened in the course of time and to correlate the events within the limits of available material on the one hand, his intelligence, imaginations, ethical understanding, on the other, into a meaningful sequence. Perhaps the ancient Hebrews were the first people strongly conscious of their history, the past history of their tribe is to them always vividly present and continuous {P-4}. History is a process influenced by forces beyond man's grasp.

Hegel George Wilhelm Friedrich. *The Philosophy of History* translated Sibree, J.. New York, The Colonial Press, 1899. First Edition 1841.

Hegel defines three kind of histories the Original History, Reflective History and Philosophical History^{xxix}. In the first kind he mentions about Herodotus, Xenophon and Thucydides, they simply transferred what was passing in world around them {Ibid}. In reflective history, whose mode of representation is not really confined by the limits of the time to which it relates {p.4} this is what is known as Universal history. every writer of history proposes to himself an original method {ibid}. in this category he puts Livy, Diodorus, Siculus, Johannes Von Muller. In this category is Pragmatical History, when we have to deal with the past and occupy ourselves with a remote world. {ibid, p.5} another form of reflective history is Critical history, it is history of history a criticism of historical narrative and an investigation of their truth and credibility.

On Philosophy of History, Hegel dwells 'thoughtful consideration of it {history' {p.8} thought is indeed essential to humanity, it is this what distinguish us from brutes... philosophy brings with it to the contemplation of history, is the simple conception of Reason...that the history of the world presents us with a rational process., this conviction and intuition is a hypothesis in the domain of history as such, nature is an embodiment of reason, that it is unchangeably subordinate to universal laws...but to depict history is to depict the passion of mankind, the genius, the active powers, that play their part on the great stage. [ibid, p.13]....among the Ashantees the king inherits all the property left by his subjects at their death. ...among the negroes moral sentiments are quite weak or more strictly speaking non existent. [p.96]. tradition alleges that in former times a state composed of women made itself famous by its conquests, it was a state whose head was a woman. She is said to have pounded her own son in a mortar, to have besmeared herself with the bloodshe is said to have driven away or put to death all the males and commanded the death of all male children....an English traveller states that when war is determined on in Ashantee [p.100]

On India Hegel is off the mark with vague statements like India like China is a phenomenon antique as well as modern [p.139]...everything therefore –sun, moon, stars, the Ganges, the Indus beasts, flowers-everything is a god to it...the parrot, the cow the ape are likewise incarnations of god. [p.141].

Dilthey Wilhelm, *Pattern and Meaning in History thoughts on history and society*, ed, H.P.Rickman. New York: Harper Torch, 1961 **Dilthey 1833-1911 german.**

History is one of the forms of disciplined research by means of which the human mind satisfies its curiosity and orientates it self in world. [p.12] dilthey's most original contribution to history , is his conception of understanding and interpretation , through which meaning is recaptured. [p.33]

Immanuel Kant {1724-1804} '*On History*^{xxx}' edited by Lewis White Beck, translated by Lewis White Beck and Robert Anchor and Emil L,Fackenheim {NewYork: Bobbs Merrill,1963}.

Kant wrote critique of pure reason and also the critique of practical reason, his first writing was in 1784, his two essays 'what is enlightenment' and 'idea of a universal history from a cosmopolitan point of view'. What is enlightenment is the name of the essay and he went on to describe 'enlightenment is man's reliance from his self-incurred tutelage, which is man's inability to make use of his understanding without direction from another. Self incurred is this tutelage when its causes lies not in lack of reason but in lack of resolution and courage to use it without direction from another. Sapere Aude{dare to know} , **have courage to use your own reason**, this is the motto of enlightenment. This term was much used by President Musharraf in Pakistan during his tenure to highlight the intellectual state in country which was under the control of the religious leaders and scholars.

'*In Idea for a Universal History from a cosmopolitan point of view*' Kant highlights that what concepts one may hold from a metaphysical point of view, concerning the freedom of will, certainly its appearances which are human actions, like every other natural event are determined by universal laws , However obscure their causes , history , which is concerned with narrating these appearances permits us to hope that if we attend to the play of freedom of the human will in the large, we may be able to discover a regular movement in it {p-11}. Since the free will of man has obvious influence upon marriages, birth, deaths , they seem to be subject to no rule by which the number of them could be reckoned in advance, yet the annual table of them in major countries prove that they occur according to laws as stable as those of the unstable weather, which in the large we cannot determine but which in the large maintains the growth of the plants... in keeping with this purpose it might be possible to have a history with a definite natural plan for creatures who have no plan of their own.{p-12}.

Kant's eight thesis are , first one state states ' all natural capacities of a creature are destined to evolve completely to their natural end.. If we give up this fundamental principle we no longer have a lawful but an aimless course of nature and blind chance takes the place of the guiding thread of reason. Second thesis 'Inman, as the only rational creature on earth. Those natural capacities are directed to the use of his reason, are to be fully developed only in the race and not in the individual'.

The third thesis 'nature has willed that man should by himself produces everything that goes beyond the mechanical ordering of his animal existence and that he should partake of no other happiness or perfection than that which he himself independently of instincts has created by his reason'.

The fifth thesis highlights that The greatest problem for the human race , to the solution of which nature derives man, is the achievement of a universal civic society which administers law among men'. The highest purpose of nature which is the development of all capacities which can be achieved by mankind is attainable only in society and more specifically in the society with the greatest freedom, such a society is the one,, in which there is mutual opposition among members,

together with the most exact definition of freedom and fixing of its limits so that it may be consistent with the freedom of others{p-16}. These thought sand the ideas are almost in practice in the tribal areas of Pakistan, where the tribal society has given freedom to each member yet there is a limit to which the society has put a limitation so that the others can live in harmony with each other.

In the sixth thesis Kant goes on in a logical manner to point that ‘this problem is the most difficult and the last to be solved by mankind’ Man is an animal which if it lives among others of its kind requires a master, for he certainly abuses his freedom with respect to the other men, he wishes to have a law which should restrict the freedom of others but where possible to exempt himself, the highest master should be just in himself yet a man.

Seventh thesis , ‘The problem of establishing a perfect civic constitution is dependent upon the problem of a lawful external relations among states and cannot be solved without a solution to the latter problem’ all wars are accordingly so many attempts to establish new relations among states and through the destruction or at least dismemberment of all of them to create new political bodies, purposeless savagery held back the development of the capacities of our race....same is done by the barbaric freedom of established states {pp.19-20}

Eight thesis deals with , ‘ The history of mankind, can be seen in the large as the realisation of nature’s secrets plan to bring forth a perfectly constituted state as the only condition in which the capacities of mankind can be fully developed and also bring forth that external relations among states which is perfectly adequate to this end.

Conjectural Beginning of Human History is another essay of Kant. Nomadic people recognising God alone as their lord a, city dwellers and farmers on the other hand have a human master in the form of government {p-65}

Perpetual Peace is another of Kant’s essay which highlights the kind of relationship which should exists among states for a long lasting peace, it is idealistic in nature. No treaty of peace shall be held valid in which there is tacitly reserved matter for a future war, otherwise a treaty would only be a truce, suspension of hostilities but not peace. No independent states large or small shall come under the dominion of another state by inheritance , exchange, purchase or donation , a state is not a ground , a piece of property , it is a society of men whom no one else has any right to command or disperse except the state itself. Standing armies shall in time be totally abolished for they incessantly menace other states by their readiness to appear at all times prepared for war, they incite them to compete each other in the number of armed men and there is no limit to this, {p87}, however periodic and voluntarily military exercises of citizens who thee by secure themselves and their country against foreign aggression are entirely different. To this he added three definitive articles

Constitution of every country state should be republican, this constitution is drawn by or established by firstly by principles of the freedom of the members of a society , secondly by principles of dependence of all upon a single common legislature and thirdly by the law of their equality P-95}. Second definitive articles ‘The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states’ states do not plead their case before a tribunal, War alone is their way of bringing suit.{p-98}. The third article states that ‘Law of world citizenship shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality’ hospitality means the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another, one may refuse to receive him when this can be done, without causing his destruction: but so long as he peacefully occupies his place, one may not treat him with hostility. {p102}.

Karl Raimund Popper *The Poverty of Historicism*^{xxi} {London: Routledge & Kegan, 1957}. The fundamental debate which Popper stated, is that there can be no laws prediction of human of the course of human history by scientific or any other rational method. The paper was first read in January 1936 and Popper dedicated his book 'to the countless men and women of all creed or nation or races who felt victims to the fascist and communist belief in inexorable laws of historical destiny'. Popper argues in his book in a logical manner first putting the logic and doctrine and arguments of those historians who believe that history can also have laws like the physics and later in the book Popper gives the other side arguments, that there can be no laws applicable in history as in physics.

The main theme is that whether the laws of physics are applicable in theoretical social sciences, Whereas Galileo and Newton made Physics a success, Pasteur work in Biology, nothing concrete comes out in Social science les economics, there are two main school of thoughts in terms of methods in social science 'pro-Naturalistic' or 'Positivist' who favours the application of physical laws and 'Anti Naturalistic' or 'negatives' as the opposing social school. The attitude any researcher adopts largely depends upon his views about methods of Physics {Popper in introduction}.

Popper coins the term Historicism, as approach to the social science which assumes that Historical Prediction is their principal aim and this can be attained by discovering the rhythm, and pattern, laws, or trends that underline the evolution of society. Anti-Naturalistic Doctrine of Historicism, they believe or claim that some of the characteristics of Physics methods cannot be applied to the social sciences, Physical laws or the laws of nature are valid anywhere and always, on the other hand sociological laws or laws of social life, differ in different places of and periods {p-5}.

Physics depends upon generalisation, on the general uniformity of nature, upon the observation or assumption: that in similar conditions or circumstances similar things will happen, this principle is taken valid throughout space and time in the case of physics. Another key factor of physics is the experiment which implies artificial control, an artificial isolation and thereby ensures the reproduction of similar conditions, where circumstances are similar, similar things will happen {p-8}.

History may repeats itself but never on the same level, especially if the events concerned are of historical importance and if they exert a lasting influence on society {p.10}. It is conceivable that by analysing social life we may be able to discover and to understand intuitively how and why any particular event came about: that we may clearly understand its causes and effects...yet we may nevertheless find that we are unable to formulate any general laws, which would serve as descriptive in general terms, of such causal links {ibid}.

In exactitude of prediction, Popper highlights that for example, if it is predicted that shares will rise for three days and fall on fourth, than people will sell it on third day and thereby decreasing the prices of the shares on the third day thus falsifying the prediction. {p.13}

Historicism, the analysis and explanations of various differences between the various sociological doctrines and schools. **Holism**, Social science deals with living like biology, thus it should be treated on biological science, the living are different from atomistic; thus Holistic manner {p.17}. a group founded by A & B will be different in characteristics from a group consisting of same number but formed by C and B, a group has a history of its own and that its structure depends to a great extent on its history and that its structure depends to a great extent on its history, it is even conceivable that a group may keep much of its original character even all if all of its original members

are replaced by other^{xxxii} {p.17}. All social groups have their own traditions , their own institutions their own rites . Historicism claims that we must study the history of the groups, its traditions and institutions, if, we wish to understand and perhaps to foresee, its future development {p.18}. Biological or organic theory, of social structure, the theory which interprets social groups by analogy with living organisms, indeed Holism is said to be characteristics of biological phenomenon is general and holistic approach is regarded as indispensable in considering how the history of various organisms influences their behaviours {p.19}.

Intuitive Understanding. We must try to understand intuitively the history of the various social groups, it is the doctrine. Popper highlights that it is important for the social scientist to understand the larger aspect of the action, such as raising of new army in a certain country, it is necessary to analyse the intentions , interest and so forth {p.21}. ***Inference by analogy*** , It is a variant of intuitive understanding , from one historical period to the other, although no event can really repeat itself, yet, analogous tendencies may become dominant. Quantitative method in Physics like the reduction of aperture , increase the angle of diffraction, it becomes one cause and effect but its not possible in social science^{xxxiii} {pp.25-26}.

Essentialism versus Nominalism. Problem of universals, one of the oldest and most fundamental problem of philosophy , every science use the terms which are called Universal terms ‘energy’ ‘velocity’ ‘carbon’ ‘whiteness’ ‘evolution’ ‘justice’ and so on, thus we can have proper names like World War 1, Alexander The Great Hailey’s Comet. On the other hand Nominalist held the view that universals differ from proper names , only in being to the members of a set or a class of a single thing rather than to just one single thing. The universal term ‘white’ for instance , seemed to this party to be nothing but a label attached to a set of many different things, ‘snow’ ‘swan’ table cloth etc , this is the doctrine of minimalist.

Essentialism are anti nominalists, ‘we call each single white thing ‘white’ on account of a certain intrinsic property that it shares with other white things, namely whiteness , essentialism also relates to realism.

Realism derives from the assertion that universal objects , for instance the whiteness really exist, over and above single things and sets or groups of single things, these universal objects were called as Forms or Ideas, they are also known as Essences . *Methodological essentialist*, are inclined to formulate questions in such terms ‘ what is matter?, they penetrate to the essence of things where as Methodological Nominalists , favour words as merely useful instruments of description, they freely introduce new terms where ever necessary or by redefining the old terms where ever convenient.. {pp.28-29}.

Essence or the real character of a social group can reveal itself and be known , only through its history {p-33}.

The ***Pro-Naturalistic Doctrine of Historicism.*** Popper in the second half of his book , now puts forward the ideas of Pro naturalistic Doctrine ‘sociology is like Physics a branch of knowledge which aims at the same time to be theoretical and empirical, by theoretical , we mean sociology has to explain and to predict events with the help of theories or of universal laws {which it tries to discover} by empirical , it means that , it is backed by experience , that the events it explains and predicts are observable facts and that observation is the basis for the acceptance or rejection of any propounded theory {p.35}. prediction with the help of laws and the testing of the laws by observation must be common to Physics and Sociology , this is {p.36} the Pro naturalistic doctrine. If it is possible for

astronomy to predict eclipses, why should it not be possible for sociology to predict revolution, is the standard question which Popper raised. *Observational Basis*, history in this natural sense is the basis of sociology as all sociology is based upon observation and observation of the past are in the form of political chronicle, in brief *sociology is theoretical History* {p-39}. Popper takes the analogy between the astronomy and social science as the base of his arguments.

Historical Laws. Popper argues , sociology is theoretical history, its scientific forecast must be based on laws and since they are historical forecasts , forecasts of social change, they must be based upon historical laws, they have to be discovered {p.41}. Popper also highlight Historical Prophecy versus Social Engineering, the prophecy of Typhon coming and the construction of shelter as safety , is the utility of historical forecasts.

Historicism, the kind of history to which historicist wish to identify sociology, looks not only backwards to the past but also forwards to the future. {p.45}. it will be admitted by the defender of the rights of Pure or Fundamental researcher deserves every support in their fight against the narrow view, that scientific research is justified only if it proves to be a sound investment {p.55}. before we can collect data, our interest in data of a certain kind must be aroused, the problem always comes first {p.121}^{xxxiv}. initial conditions, historical interpretation, a selective point of view or focus of historical interest, if it cannot be formulated as a liable hypothesis {p.151}.

Richard Collingwood *The idea of History* {Oxford:1956}. Writes about history ‘ this book is an essay in the philosophy of history, the name philosophy of history was invented in the eighteenth century by Voltaire, a type of historical thinking in which the historian made up his mind for himself instead of repeating whatever stories he found in old books { in introduction} same phrase was used by Hegel but they meant a Universal History , a third use of the phrase is found in several 19th Century positivists for whom , it was the discovery of the general laws governing the course of history, discovering ‘ uniform laws’ Collingwood’s own idea of philosophy of history is a ‘philosophical inquiry into the nature of history’ {pp,1-7} history is a kind of research or inquiry , science is finding things out and in that sense history is a science, object of history is to ‘action of human beings that have been done in the past’ {pp.9-11}. How does history proceeds? History proceeds by evidence and its interpretations, only clue to what man can do is what man has done {p-10}. Theocratic history, a unscientific history rather a statement of what has been said {p.14}. Collingwood cites Herodotus as the creator of scientific history, although Herodotus in his account of India had never been to India and as such all his accounts are based upon what he listened from others and that does not make him or his histories as scientific. Thucydides is the father of Psychological History which is not narrative facts for the sake of facts , its chief purpose is to affirm laws, psychological laws which is not an event , not yet a complex of events , it is an unchanging rule which governs the relations between events, what chiefly interests Thucydides is the laws according to which they happen. {p.30}. World history or Oecumenical history is attributed to Polybius, he has a definite theme, he has a story to tell , a story of notable and memorable things {p.34}. Herder was the first thinker to recognise a systematic way that there are differences between different kind of men {p.91} Marx asserted that historical events have natural cause {p.125}. Positivism may be defined as the philosophy acting in the service of natural science, they ascertain facts and secondly framing laws {pp.126-127} The laws are formed through generalisation from facts by induction {p.127} this is known as the Positivist Historiography. Comte proposed that there should be a new science called sociology, which was to begin by discovering the facts about human life and then go on to discover the causal connexions between these facts {p.128} the 19th century historians accepted the first fact but rejected the second the discovery of general laws {p.130}. In England F.H. Bradley wrote in 1874 ‘The presupposition of Critical History@ what the critical historian has to do is to decide whether the

persons whose testimony he is using were on this or that occasions judging correctly or erroneously {p.137}^{xxxv}

Collingwood stated that ‘every historian would agree , I think that history is a kind of research or enquiry’ idea of history, p.9.

Collingwood Richard *Essays in the Philosophy of History* University of Texas:1967.

The philosophy of history therefore is the study of historical thinking, not only the psychological analysis of its actual procedure but the analysis of the ideal which it sets before itself^{xxxvi} Philosophy is thinking about the world as a whole, to study the nature of selected parts of the world is to be scientist; to study its nature as a whole is to be philosopher.^{xxxvii} If there is to be a philosophy of history, history must be something more than a trade or amusement, it must be universal and necessary human interest.

At bottom the attempt to construct a universal history failed , because it involved confusion between history and science, they are both forms of knowledge, involving observation and thought and requiring highly developed technical methods. In science the individual fact is of importance only so far as it illustrates a general law, whether Newton’s apple really fell or not is not important as long as we grasp the Newton’s law of gravitation. In history, the opposite is true, the individual fact is the end and general law is of importance only so far as it enables us to determine the fact. {p.133} leaflet No.79, p.133.

Dray William, *History as Re-Enactment R.G. Collingwood’s idea of history*. Oxford University , 1995.

The first task is to set out in a little detail what Collingwood means when he insists that historical understanding requires a re-enactment of past experience or a rethinking of past thought.^{xxxviii} The re-enactment doctrine was first expressed in Collingwood’s lectures in 1928...auditor reconstructs it mentally or at least follow a present performance

Raflaub, Kurt. and Nathan Rosenstein. Ed. *War and society in the ancient and Medieval World, Asia, the Mediterranean, Europe and Mesopotamia* . London: Centre for The Hellenic Studies, trustees for Harvard University,1999.

Wrote ‘in 1500-500 B.C.E called the spring and Aukimen period ‘warfare was an integral and essential part of the religious systems, it could be claimed that the state and social order were entirely dependence for their existence on warfare and sacrifice.^{xxxix} They further write ‘ that villages definitely began to be protected by deep ditches from about 4000B.C.E {p.49}. War has been known in japan since about 300BC; The Chronicles of japan, a court history was compiled in 720 AD. {p.49}. The most enduring relation were regional and factional unfortunately , our sources do not give us precise number for the armies of Philip or Alexander in relation to the total population {p.174}

Maier,Berhard. *The Celts a History from the Earliest times to the Present*, trans Kevin Windle, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University,2000.

The term Celts stands for a variety of central European peoples with whom the Greeks and Romans came into contact from 6th Century B.C, These are commonly known today as Germanic...all statements about their culture and religion are stereo typed, Celts are also for linguistic facts ‘Celtic’

was the designation for a group of related languages evolved from a common ancestor...thus they form western most branch of Indo –European family.^{xi}

Ross, Anne. *Everyday life of the Pagan Celts*. London: Putnam,1956. On Celts further writes , in pagan Celtic societies, war was regarded as the norm and highly desirable; and fighting and success in a single combat were right and proper for the young warrior and hero effect...by alarm, any fancied insult resulted in an instant seizing of weapons.^{xli}

Hutton Webster *Ancient Civilisation*, Chicago, Heath,1931. Notes that India was better known than China...one of the most fertile territories on the globe {p.29} The Punjab was settled by Indo-European people sometimes after 2000B.C; they also spread over the valley of the Ganges and so brought all Northern India under their control^{xlii}

Hutton was a Ph.d professor in University of Nebraska in *Readings in Ancient History* Boston, Heath,1913. He notes that Alexander the Great was also surprised that Porus did not cower in spirit but advanced to meet him as one brave man would meet another brave man. {p.147}^{xliii}.

H.G.Wells in his *A short History of the World*, notes that ‘historians are for the most part very scholarly men, now a days, they go in a fear rather of small errors than of disconnectedness, they dread the certain ridicule of a wrong date mark than the disputable attribution of a wrong value {p.3}^{xliv}.

Martin Rex. *Historical Explanations re-enactment and practical inference*. London: Cornell,1977.

One of my principal concern in this study is to determine whether universal hypothesis are logically required by the explanations which historians and other social scientists give of human actions, and whether their use would commit us to accepting some versions of universal regularities in mind and behaviour- in particular that version provided in the uniformity conception of human nature {p.21}

On modern or present day situation in Afghanistan

Lohbeck,Kurt. *Holy War,Unholy Victory Eyewitness to the CIA's Secret War in Afghanistan*. Washington: Regnery,1993. Writes; Its geographical wealth has made Afghanistan a cross road of civilisation{introduction} Tribesmen proved to be a greater obstacle than Golden horde had expected , they would raid a regiment of the great army and then disappeared into the shelter of the difficult and rugged mountain, the Great Khan had never encountered such a audacity and prowess {p.3}. USA embassy in Islamabad was burnt to the ground in 1979{p.8}By 1963, Afghan border with Pakistan was had been closed for two years {p.27}^{xlv}

Ahmed Rashid ,*Taliban, Militant Islam , Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* {London: Yale ,2000}. Writes I had been reporting on the Taliban phenomenon making more than a dozen trips to taliban strongholds in Kandahar {p.7} There is now an entire factory of myths and stories to explain, how Mullah Omar mobilised a small group of Taliban against the rapacious Kandahar war lords...raping of two teenage girls {p.25}^{xlvi}.

Thomas Rutling ‘‘Loya Paktia’s Insurgency’’in, *Decoding the New Taliban, insight from the field*, ed. Antonio Giustozzi {New York: Columbia,2009}. Writes Loya Paktia represents a quasi-autonomous region, the three constituent province Paktia, Paktika and Khost are one of the three major Pashtun provinces of the country {p.57}.^{xlvii}

Doug Stanton, *Horse Soldiers The extraordinary story of a band of U.S Soldiers who rode to victory in Afghanistan.* New York: Scribner, 2009. Writes about Taliban, these guys {Taliban} do not surrender, they fought to the death {p.2}.^{xlviii}

Sean Maloney, *Confronting the Chaos, a rogue military historian returns to Afghanistan.* Annapolis: Naval Institute, 2009. his book covers the war in Afghanistan from 2003-4, he states a statement of Osama Bin Laden ‘ Why are your government especially those of Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Germany and Australia allying themselves with America in the attack against us in Afghanistan’ . {p.xiii}.^{xlix} Provincial reconstruction team PRT is a holly new weapon in the counter insurgency war against the Taliban and its supporters. Essentially there was a proxy war where by USA supported the Northern Alliance to take down the Taliban shield while another campaign superimposed on the proxy war hunted out Al Qaeda leadership, these operations continued into 2002. The next phase which lasted from 2002-end 2003.

Carter Malkasian, *War Comes to Garmser Thirty Years of Conflict on the Afghan Frontier* .New York: Oxford, 2013. The point of study of one district in Afghanistan is to help answer whether the USA and its allies were bound to be defeated in Afghanistan...should the USA heeded the warnings of history and stayed out {p.xxi} . in 1972, Jeffery Race published *War Comes to Long An*, a first person analysis of the war in Vietnam, he lived in Long An for four years conducting research , that became his doctoral dissertation, the book he published is cited as classic in 2006 US Army /Marine Corps counter insurgency field manual. In similar situation, Carter Malkasian came to Garmser district in 2009 as political officer, he spent two years. it was decided that Afghanistan would be a centralised democracy with elections , small professional army and a western legal system. Violence re-appeared in 2005 and 2006. The new counter insurgency manual was published in 2008, by mid 2011, 100,00 American, 10,000 UK troops were in the country, since 2001, 17000 has been killed { 14,700 USA and 2125 UK } over 500\$ billion has been spent, polls found out that as many as 70% Americans wants to get out of Unwinnable war.

Hamid Mustafa and Farrall Leah. *The Arabs at war in Afghanistan*. London: Hurst & Company, 2015.

In September 1996, Mullah Omar had declared Afghanistan as an Islamic Emirates, in august 1996, Osama had issued declaration of Jihad against USA, there was an Arab Village at Jalaabad. {p.1}. the first Arab fighter group was formed at Khost {p.2}.¹

Professor **Lieutenant General Peter Leahy** who was chief of army staff in Australian Army [2002-2008] and now at University of Canberra writes in the preface of the book ‘ today our soldier face the descendants of the hardy Afghan warriors on a field of battle that has changed little over the centuries...provides valuable insight into the conduct of today’s campaign, which can help deliver us from the perils of repeating the mistakes’ .^{li}

Bing West in *The Wrong War Grit, strategy and the way out of Afghanistan*. New York: Random, 2011, writes about the American troops in Afghanistan, the opening phrase is about a young man in grey burqa peeping out from a mosque ‘ did anyone shoot at the mosque? Negative, a fire leader yelled ‘we know the rules, we are not fucking stupid’. The leadership of Al Qaeda and Taliban settled into the tribal frontier lands of western Pakistan, Pakistan army played double game, on one hand it accepted billions of dollars and permitted strikes by American unmanned aircraft on Al Qaeda leadership , on other hand it shielded other terrorist groups and leaders as a ledge in case the Taliban again seized the power. In 2002, Karzai was supported as

President , in 2003 USA invaded Iraq thus in 2003, emphasis was on chasing Al Qaeda leader , where as in 2004-2005, USA turned to counter insurgency in Afghanistan , three different military units were attacking the insurgents, first was special operations forces{SOF} which focused on guerrilla leaders, financiers, improvised explosive device makers{IED}and safe houses operators. Second was the airpower, third was the foot soldier {p.138}.^{lii}

ⁱ Polybius *The Histories* translated by Robin Waterfield .{London: Oxford,2010.}

ⁱⁱ Polybius in introduction pIX.

ⁱⁱⁱ Polybius,p.1

^{iv}James Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilisation*. Edited by Edith Ware, {NewYork: Literary Guild of America,1938},p.201.

^vBenedetto Croce,. *History,its Theory and Practice*, trans. Douglas Ainslie .{NewYork:Russell,1960},p-12.

^{vi}FerdinandBraudel,. *On History* trans. Sarah Matthew . {University of Chicago,1980}.,p-64.

^{vii}GrahamWatts,. *The Learning of History* . {London : Routledge & Kegan,1972},p-41.

^{viii} Edward Carr . *What is History ?* {New York: Alfred Knopf, 1964},p.54.

^{ix} Lester Stephen . *Probing the past a guide to the study of and teaching history*.{Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 1974},p.5.

^x Arnold Jhonson,. *The Historian and historical Evidence*{NewYork: Charles Scribner 1926},p.33.

^{xi} Louis Gottschalk *Understanding History* {NewYork: Alfred Knopf,1969},p.10.

^{xii} <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/> American Frontier , a thesis written by Ted Turner in 1890.

^{xiii} <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/> American Frontier , a thesis written by Ted Turner in 1890.

^{xiv} Micheal Bently,*Modern Historiography an Introduction* {London:Routledge,1999},pp,1-44.

^{xv} Ibid,p-87.

^{xvi} Ranke, Leopold. ‘The Historians Task’ in *The Secrets of World History selected writings on the art and science of History*, ed and trans, Roger Wines. {New York: Fordham University Press,1981},p

^{xvii} Kojin Karatini. *History and Repetition* ,ed. Seiji M.Lippit {NewYork: Columbia University,2012}.

^{xviii}Karl Marx. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.Chapter 1,p-10.<http://www.marx2mao.com/M&E/EBLB52.html>

^{xix} Karl Jaspers, *The Origins and Goal of History* ,{NewHaven: Yale University,1953},I.

^{xx}William Edward Harpole Lecky, *Historical and Political Essays* {NewYork:Freeport,1970{ 1908},pp,1-9.

^{xxi} Alan Munslow, *A History of History* ,{London:Routledge,2012},pp.37-44.

^{xxii}Lynn Hunt, *Writing History in Global Era* {NewYork: Norton,2014},p.2.

^{xxiii} Ibid,p.14.

^{xxiv} Lord Edward Acton, Review on the Thesis of Mr Buckle’s *History of Civilisation in England* first published in *Rambler*1858 , *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History*, ed. William McNeill. {Chicago: University Press,1967}.

^{xxv}C.V.Wedgewood. *The Sense of past, Thirteen Studies in the Theory and Practice of History* {NewYork: Collier,1960}.

^{xxvi}Marc Bloch *The Historian Craft*, translated. Peter Putnam.{NewYork: Alfred Knopf,1963}.

^{xxvii} Herbert Fisher *Studies in History and Politics* {New York: Freeport, 1967 {1920}. P-13.
<https://archive.org/stream/studiesinhistory00fish#page/n5/mode/2up>

^{xxviii} Hans Kohn, *Reflections on Modern History, The historian and human responsibility* {Toronto: Van Nostrand, 1963}.

^{xxix} Hegel George Wilhelm Friedrich. *The Philosophy of History* translated Sibree, J.. { New York, The Colonial Press, 1899. First Edition 1841 }, p-i.

^{xxx} Immanuel Kant {1724-1804} ‘*On History*’^{xxx}, edited by Lewis White Beck, translated by Lewis White Beck and Robert Anchor and Emil L. Fackenheim {New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1963}.

^{xxxi} Karl Raimund Popper *The Poverty of Historicism*^{xxxi} {London: Routledge & Kegan, 1957}

^{xxxii} Ibid, p-17.

^{xxxiii} Ibid, pp. 22-26

^{xxxiv} Ibid, p. 121.

^{xxxv} Richard Collingwood *The idea of History* {Oxford: 1956}, p-137.

^{xxxvi} Collingwood Richard ‘The Nature and aim of a Philosophy of History’ first published in 1924-1925 in *Essays in the Philosophy of History* {University of Texas: 1967}, p. 36.

^{xxxvii} Ibid, the Philosophy of History, leaflet of historical Association No. 79, {1930}

^{xxxviii} Dray William, *History as Re-Enactment R.G. Collingwood’s idea of history*. Oxford University, 1995. P-32.

^{xxxix} Kurt Raflaub, & Nathan Rosenstein, Ed. *War and Society in the ancient and Medieval World, Asia, the Mediterranean, Europe and Mesopotamia* { London: Centre for The Hellenic Studies, trustees for Harvard University, 1999}, p. 9.

^{xl} Bernhard Maier, *The Celts a History from the Earliest times to the Present*, trans Kevin Windle, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2000.

^{xli} Anne Ross, *Everyday life of the Pagan Celts*. {London: Putnam, 1956}, p. 54.

^{xlii} Webster Hutton, *Ancient Civilisation*, {Chicago, Heath, 1931}, p. 29.

^{xliii} Webster Hunt, *Readings in Ancient History* {Boston, Heath, 1913}, p. 147.

^{xliv} H.G. Wells *A short History of the World* {New York: Doubleday, 1971 {1940}, p. 3

^{xlv} Kurt. Lohbeck, *Holy War, Unholy Victory Eyewitness to the CIA’s Secret War in Afghanistan*. {Washington: Regnery, 1993}, p. 27.

^{xlvi} Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban, Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* {London: Yale, 2000}, p. 25

^{xlvii} Thomas Rutling ‘Loya Paktia’s Insurgency’ in, *Decoding the New Taliban, insight from the field*, ed. Antonio Giustozzi {New York: Columbia, 2009}, p. 57.

^{xlviii} Doug Stanton, *Horse Soldiers The extraordinary story of a band of U.S Soldiers who rode to victory in Afghanistan*. {New York: Scriber, 2009}, p. 2.

^{xlix} Sean Maloney, *Confronting the Chaos, a Rogue Military Historian Returns to Afghanistan*. {Annapolis: Naval Institute, 2009}, p. xiii.

^l Hamid Mustafa and Farrall Leah. *The Arabs at War in Afghanistan* {London: Hurst & Company, 2015}, p. 2.

^{li} Kevin Baker *War in Afghanistan A Short history of Eighty Wars and Conflicts in Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier 1839-2011*. {Australia: Rosenberg, 2011}, p. ii.

^{lii} Bing West *The Wrong War Grit, strategy and the way out of Afghanistan*. {New York: Random, 2011}, p. 138.